

A MANIPULATED FOREIGN SERVICE

(By Edith Kermit Roosevelt)

WASHINGTON.—When President Nixon sets out to put into effect his promised revolution in the management of the State Department, he will have to cope with the Department's built-in and highly effective techniques for lobbying the Congress and resisting change.

Clearly, the door is left open to outside manipulation of the Foreign Service when Government officials accept ties with tax-exempt foundations and private companies. They do this to entrench themselves in power or to put across policies which they favor.

A case in point is the simultaneous revelations that the Donner Foundation gave \$33,000 to the American Foreign Service Association and that fourteen State Department employees and a New York real-estate magnate with State Department connections gave generous campaign contributions to Democratic Representative — from New York. —, of the House Appropriations Committee, exercises control over spending by the State Department and related overseas activities.

The Donner grant was received by the American Foreign Service Association under a new policy installed this year by a so-called "young Turk" group of activist Foreign Service officers aggressively determined to free the Foreign Service from the last vestiges of control by the Congress. As part of this program in 1968 the American Foreign Service Association has received more than \$100,000, including gifts from John D. Rockefeller III, William Averell Harriman, Mrs. William Rivkin, the widow of a well-known lobby lawyer, and Mrs. Christian Herter, widow of the former Secretary of State who was on the World Peace Foundation. Significantly, William Bray III, a "young Turk" member of the board of the American Foreign Service Association, was granted six-months' leave of absence from the State Department without pay to carry out this aggressive policy, but his entire salary is being paid by John D. Rockefeller III during this period.

The influence of the Donner Foundation is seen by the fact that it picked up the tab for a conference held in Washington, D.C., November 14th and 15th, by the American Foreign Service Association. This was announced by the conference chairman. The underlying theme of the conference was the retention of power by "the Eastern Establishment" through personnel selection. A string of Government consultants attended, such as Arthur Larson, former head of the U.S. Information Agency, and Adam Yarmolinsky, who helped staff key policy posts in the Kennedy Administration.

The two-day conference was chaired by Joseph Esrey Johnson, president of the tax-exempt Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, who is referred to by insiders as "the permanent unofficial Secretary of State." Johnson was formerly with the State Department's policy-planning staff and one of the architects while there with Alger Hiss of the United Nations. A member of the American Foreign Service Association who attended the conference told this writer that it was Johnson who suggested foundation funding for the Association.

The implications are plain: The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the Donner Foundation and other New York foundations are using the American Foreign Service Association as a lobbying front for major legislative changes to be proposed in 1969 affecting the structure and role of the American Foreign Service. Significantly, the American Foreign Service Association has proposed that power over personnel selections, promotions and firings should be vested solely in a board of the Foreign Service, which would be a semi-independent agency. Not unexpectedly, the Association proposed that Johnson be the board chairman.

Outside influences are at work, too, in the case of the contributions made by State Department officials to Representative —'s re-election. Of significance in this affair is the role of Norman K. Winston, the New York realtor who owns several companies and has been given honorific jobs by the State Department. Winston was the largest donor to Representative Rooney's campaign committee, while the wife of Idar Rimestad, Deputy Under Secretary of State for Administration, is listed as giving \$500. Rimestad, who is formerly charged with all of the State Department's budgeting, financing and contracts, is the Department official who works closest with Rooney.

In 1966 Winston reimbursed Rimestad's predecessor in the job, William J. Crockett, for out-of-pocket expenses for a cocktail party and fund-raising dinner for Democratic legislators. In order to cover up traces of this subsidy, Winston resorted to the device of transferring to Crockett stock at a price lower than the market value which Crockett in turn was able to sell at a price high enough to pay for his expenses. This has come out in the press here. Thus, in effect Crockett and Winston had an arrangement whereby Crockett was acting as a lobbyist for Winston while concealing this relationship.

The moral is that if there is to be any real change in the present system, new men must be brought in who will resist outside interests and pressures. Freedom from conflicting outside financial relationships are a pre-requisite for disinterested public service.